

No. 133 NOVEMBER 1979

Spearhead

30p

THE NEW
RACE ACT...

CAN IT
REALLY
BE A
CRIME
TO TELL
WHO MUGGED MARY?



Nationalist comment

WHAT WE THINK

on the month's news

National Front: What lies behind the conflict

Throughout the Summer and Autumn of 1979 the National Front has passed through a series of internal convulsions which are now practically at an end. A take-over bid for the party has been successfully thwarted and the danger posed by that bid is no longer present. The task now facing the party is that of restoring the morale of those members, for the most part thorough loyalists, who have been deeply affected by events and whose faith in the party's future has suffered at least temporary setback. In this task it is useful that we should be armed with an accurate perspective and insight as to the anatomy of these internal divisions.

To the politically inexperienced such divisions come as a shattering blow — for such people join our movement so carried away with the ideals that it serves that they cannot conceive of how people holding such ideals in common could quarrel. When the realisation dawns that they can quarrel and are quarrelling, the reaction can at first be

one of utter incomprehension and then quite often of demoralisation and disillusionment. This reaction, while understandable, misses out on an essential factor in the trouble.

Our movement has political aims which in the very nature of things bring it into a state of war with everything represented by the contemporary political world. Even if we should imagine we can avoid such a war, our enemies nevertheless force it upon us, for they see us, not as people with a viewpoint which — right or wrong — has a legitimate place in political debate, but as a sinister and dangerous force which is subversive to the whole existing order of things. For that reason they have been at war with us from the first moment when we drew political breath.

This war, like modern war generally, has its arsenal of the most complex and varied weapons, tactics and strategies — both physical and psychological. With many of these weapons, tactics and strategies we have become very familiar and no more need be said about them here.

What should concern us particularly in the situation in which we have recently found ourselves is that weapon of psychological warfare which is directed at the spreading of division, confusion and demoralisation in one's adversary's camp.

Every modern government, whether it acknowledges it or not, has a political policing apparatus — and this is true irrespective of whether that government is a communist or totalitarian one or whether it functions within the framework of a pluralistic democracy. The purpose of such an apparatus is to keep surveillance over political groups deemed to be a threat to the existing establishment, whatever sort of establishment that may be.

One section of such an apparatus is concerned with the gathering of information

about opposition groups. For that purpose agents are placed in these groups as members so that they may obtain such information and pass it back to their paymasters. From this information strategies and tactics are then devised with a view to the neutralising of the groups in question.

It is at this point that another section of the political police apparatus comes into play. Agents of a different sort are placed in those groups and they, acting on the information provided by the previously mentioned agents, deliberately promote division and conflict within the groups concerned.

These operations are of course never publicly acknowledged in official quarters. Occasionally, however, internal and confidential communications concerning them are leaked out and revealed to the outside world. This happened 15 years ago in the United States, where the FBI carries out operations on behalf of the federal authorities against radical groups considered to be outside the establishment pale. This American version of political warfare against the opposition functions under the name of 'Cointelpro' (or 'Counterintelligence Program'). In 1964 an internal memo of this department, which accidentally got into the hands of a patriotic organisation, said the following:

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralise the activities of the various Klans and hate organisations, their leadership and adherents. The activities of these groups must be followed on a continuous basis so that we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant... In every instance consideration should be given to disrupting the organised activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalise upon organisational and personal conflicts of their leadership."

The exponents of 'Cointelpro' here in Britain have been rather more careful in their communications and no such communications have ever suffered similar leakage. However, on the basis of circumstantial evidence there can be little doubt that such a programme exists in this country and that it has been put into operation several times against the National Front — in 1968, 1970, 1972, 1975 and finally 1979.

In each instance the ingredients of the trouble were similar. Organisational and tactical disagreements existed in the party alongside conflicts of personalities and ambitions on the part of those not holding power to displace those holding power. These are normal human phenomena and would exist in any organisation regardless of any ulterior external influence.

What made them potent as forces of disruption were the methods used by certain people to resolve them. The National Front has always had a written Constitution which provides the means by which disputes in the party can be thrashed out and by which leaders, both at local and national level, can be changed by the votes of the membership if that is the members' will.

SPEARHEAD

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In every instance of trouble in the NF that trouble has been caused by certain individuals declining to avail themselves of the normal constitutional machinery for the settling of differences and instead employing flagrantly unconstitutional means, as well as other methods of treachery and deceit. Such disruptive periods have always been distinguished by certain recurring symptoms, such as:-

(a) Instead of open and honest criticisms of the running of the party voiced at official meetings of the party, attacks on the leadership are made in shady little circulars sent through the post, invariably anonymous and containing, as well as political criticism, vicious personal attacks on prominent party functionaries, usually based on lies. Where these attacks do not achieve their object of winning support for a particular faction, they can nevertheless demoralise members and open up questions in their mind about the established leadership - which of course is much a part of the intention behind them.

(b) The deliberate fomenting of local mutinies against the central party authority. The technique here is to seize upon - or if that is not possible create - a grievance in the minds of local members. If such a grievance has some modicum of justification, so much the better. If then the leadership attempts to meet the mutiny by a policy of conciliation, it stands to alienate its loyal supporters. If, on the other hand, it meets it by firm disciplinary action and the mutineers are suspended or expelled, the tale is put around that they have been suspended merely for voicing a grievance on behalf of the members. Either way the potential exists for the authority and standing of the leadership to be undermined.

(c) Rumours and scares are deliberately circulated within the party concerning some coming action of drastic consequences. Those who might be affected by such action are thereby prompted to pre-empt it by their own counter-action - thus escalating divisions and confrontation between rival elements.

(d) Personality conflicts between key party officers are created by little stories fed to one about what another has been saying about him - stories sometimes true but mostly untrue.

(e) Particular use is made of those types within the party who by their nature constitute its natural rebels. In every party there are people of a kind driven by grudges, hang-ups, inferiority complexes, jealousies and frustrated ambitions. These are easily identifiable by any skilled psychologist and can almost invariably be mobilised in support of any dissident or disruptive faction in the party - particularly by the bait of increased stature, importance and power when the party is reformed after the rebels' victory.

(f) These operations are almost always thoughtfully timed. They usually follow shortly after the conclusion of some big

campaign to which the party has committed a great deal of its resources, such as the fighting of a general election. After such large campaigns there is always a certain tiredness - physical, mental and nervous, and no matter how good or bad the political results have been in relation to actual possibilities it is inevitable that they fall somewhat short of some of the hopes optimistically held. It is at such time that some members can be especially vulnerable to suggestions of sweeping change as a panacea for the future and can be persuaded to lend themselves to movements of revolt. It is no accident that three of the revolts in the National Front were staged shortly after the general elections of 1970, 1974 and 1979.

NOT THE ONLY BODIES

We can of course err if we accept this formula as a stereotype to explain all disruptive developments in the history of a party. For instance, government police departments are not the only bodies capable of, and with a reason for, subverting political groups in order to smash them up. Just the same function might be performed by some non-governmental agency, such as a rival and antagonistic political group - or indeed some other sectional interest, perhaps of an ethnic nature, which stands to gain by the demise of the group singled out for destruction.

Similarly, it would be a gross oversimplification if we presumed that every person engaged in disruptive activity within a political movement was working as an agent in the service of some external power. In fact it is usually the case that only a very small number are - perhaps sometimes no more than 2 or 3, even only one. In the circumstances described there are always available any number of people ready to be used as tools in the process, not possessing the intelligence or experience to realise who is using them or for what purpose. It is, however, the agent and infiltrator who orchestrates and directs dissident operations in such a way as to contrive the smashing up of the movement that serves as the intended victim.

Spearhead is convinced that this purpose has been at work in the recent divisions in the National Front. This is not to say that it has proof that any specific individual has been working to that purpose. Such proof would in the circumstances be very hard to establish. It is simply our observation of the course that the troubles have taken, together with our experience of very similar troubles in the past, which lead us to this belief.

Of course, the troubles that we have passed through are marked by singular characteristics which distinguish this campaign from previous ones. Until a year ago, there was only the party organisation itself in which subversive factions could operate. Consequently such activities were exclusively confined to the party's branches and

especially its National Directorate. The situation today is wholly different. In the complex company structure recently brought into being, a whole new area became available in which subversive activities could be mounted. This area was all the more crucial as it concerned the financial power base of the party. Although the recent subversion involved an attempt to win political control of the National Directorate as well, the key aspect of the recent trouble has been the attempt to separate this new financial power base from the authority of the party's governing body. Most of those who supported the leaders of the faction did not realise - and still do not realise - that this was the real name of the game.

Naturally, after each bout of such trouble those of us who have been left with the task of clearing up the mess have sought as far as possible to steer the party ship in such a way as to minimise the possibilities of recurrences. However much precaution we take in this regard, though, there is the certainty that someone will try again, sometime - utilising new circumstances to concoct a new brew of poisonous properties. We can only remind members that they have been warned.

RAY OF LIGHT

For the moment what is important is that everyone in the party recognises what has just happened for what it is - and that no one in the party does what it is the dearest hope of the enemy that they should do - drop out in demoralisation and exhaustion from these conflicts.

After the gloom - a ray of light. No previous disruptive attempt has ever destroyed the National Front. On the contrary, after every such attempt the party has squeezed the poison out of its system and entered into a new phase of unity and growth. This was particularly so following the divisions of 1972 and 1975. Sometimes such episodes have even had some beneficial side-effects, sorting out the stalwart of the party from the not so stalwart and eliminating dead wood that needed to be eliminated. We have confidence that this process will repeat itself again this time and that what has happened will only momentarily delay the inexorable progress of the movement we serve.

BOOKS FOR SALE

Four out of print hardback Douglas Reed's for £20. From *Smoke to Smother, All Our Tomorrows, Disgrace Abounding* and *A Prophet At Home*. Other rare titles available at £6.00 each. Also a collector's item, Nesta Webster's 1920 edition *The French Revolution* mint condition £12. Box 7833.

Our magazine, though it believes in racial differences, opposes race-hatred. All those who oppose multi-racialism should attack the politicians who promote it, not the immigrants, who are merely its victims.

WHY I AM A NATIONALIST

THE RESTORATION of Britain's National Sovereignty is at the heart of the *political* action desired by the National Front. All of its other policies of major importance spring from that fundamental objective.

"Stop Coloured Immigration — Start Repatriation" is perhaps the best known NF policy because it is so controversial in our internationalist and multi-racialist society; but important though that policy is, it is not our main policy but an inescapable outcome of our fundamental political objective: the restoration of National Sovereignty.

Unlike woolly patriots, we do not relate our loyalty to the nation merely to the patch on the Earth's surface which is called Britain. First and foremost the British nation is the British people. Without the people, there is no nation. The issue of documents such as passports does not make a person "British"; the mere fact of having been born in Britain does not make one "British". The British nation, in our view, is constituted of a homogeneous population group — made up of various strands of the European race who settled and assimilated here in days of yore. Our nation-state of Great Britain and its institutions are but expressions of that homogeneity.

The preservation of the **territory** of the nation (the aspect which most people immediately associate with National Sovereignty) is important in that the kinfolk who form a nation need to have their own plot of ground in order to be able to live together and maintain their kinship and nationhood generation by generation. In maintaining their kinship in the territory of a nation-state they generate the arts, language, laws, and all manner of institutions that constitute a genuine national culture.

Thus if one is to preserve National Sovereignty, one's political work must embrace not just defence of territory, but defence of art-forms, of legal principles, of language, of all manner of culture forms, and, above all, the race. It is because of this that we demand the political action not just of stopping the further influx of aliens into Britain, but of repatriating to their lands of ethnic origin those immigrants and their offspring who have already settled here.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

The same principles which make us strongly opposed to immigration and race-mixing also make us opposed to the power of international big money — the international banks, the multi-national companies, and all of the growing structures which go to

make up an international financial 'Establishment', which we call "International Finance" or the "International Money Power".

International Finance, by its ownership of an increasing amount of the wealth-creating facilities in all the nations of the world (even, increasingly, behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains) is able to dictate to the governments of all the nations of the world, not least successive British Governments. We seek a British Government which will take action to shake off the strangle-hold of International Finance and, in association with the governments of other nations who are like-minded, to break up the structures and systems which permit the international 'Establishment' to function.

In the short term this would mean the repudiation by a Nationalist British Government of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which forces Britain and all the nations of the "Free World" to allow cheap foreign manufactured goods to flood in regardless of the effect on home industry, unemployment rates and the national economy. It would also mean the withdrawal by Britain from collectivist structures such as the European Common Market which was an inevitable product of GATT thinking and which is clearly intended to be an ante-room to a form of World Government.

In the longer term it would mean a fundamental change in the present banking and money/credit creation systems. The paramount agencies of the International Financial 'Establishment' are the international banks. The basis of their power is their present ability (not only in Britain, but in all other Western nations) to create money/credit by making loans far beyond the amount of actual tangible wealth that they actually possess and then drawing back from the community capital and interest payments on such loans. This means that the banks are able to "make money out of nothing".

The wealth that they gain by this system is used to buy up enterprises that produce actual wealth in terms of goods and services, and in this way we see the development of the monopolistic multi-national companies. Thus International Finance is able to exert influence in and over nations in two ways: by controlling their credit and banking systems and by controlling the enterprises within nations that produce nations' Gross National Products.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Naturally, to those who control this

Introduction: Prior to his recent trial at Kingston Crown Court on two counts of having broken the "racial incitement" section of the Race Relations Act, Martin Webster was asked to provide his lawyers with a statement of his political and philosophical beliefs so that they could instruct the Leading Counsel who was to defend him. This is a slightly revised version of that statement.

International Financial structure, the needs, aspirations and problems of individual nations and peoples are irrelevant. Their wealth-creating structures are international and they require international political structures to facilitate ever-greater profitability from their operations.

So far as Britain is concerned, a Nationalist Government would see to it that the nation's money/credit is no longer loaned into circulation as an interest-bearing debt (the system which is the principal cause of inflation). The power to create credit would be restored to Crown authority. New money/credit would be spent into circulation by the Government debt free. The amount of such new money/credit created, year by year, would be related to the annual Gross National Product.

A Nationalist Government would set about developing British industry so as to achieve the greatest possible degree of self-sufficiency so that, ultimately, we import nothing that cannot be manufactured by British workers in British factories. Together with this a Nationalist Government would prohibit majority ownership by foreign or international companies of British enterprises.

To those who say that all this would "wreck Britain's economy" by starving it of "essential foreign investment", we simply point to what has happened to Britain's economy and industry under successive internationalist Labour and Conservative Governments who have been subservient to the will of International Financial agencies such as the GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the like.

Britain has lurched from one crisis to another; inflation has roared ahead and unemployment hovers at around 1.5 million. Our share of the world's export trade has done nothing but drop since the early 1950's, and as the scale and variety of our home industries crumbles our imports go up and up causing balance of payments problems which successive governments seek to 'solve' by means of ever-more enormous loans from the International Monetary Fund whose bosses demand ever deeper cuts in essential areas of public expenditure. Roads, schools, sewerage systems, the health service and all manner of other community services have to pull in their belts so that the international bankers may be repaid.

So far as Britain is concerned, the internationalists have no record of achievement to which to point to refute our economic nationalism, but only decades of stagnation, bankruptcy and failure. Under the rule of

Contd. on page 17

PETER H. PEEL

RACISM: HERESY OR INSTINCT?

THERE SEEM always to have existed certain beliefs which have been regarded by the majority as self-evidently so perverse and evil that it was quite unnecessary to debate them or to examine their premises and arguments. In the early middle ages of Christendom, it was paganism which represented this category of the axiomatically damnable. In the late Middle Ages, it was heresy. In early modern and modern times, there have been a number of such beliefs — atheism, democracy, evolution, socialism, to name a few. In very recent times, communism, fascism, and racism have been the unspeakable and indefensible.

But racism-as-sin has developed a special and selective meaning in our culture. We may "tut-tut" momentarily about the expulsion of the East Indians from the new African states; we may purse our lips at the expulsion of the Chinese from Vietnam (and their subsequent treatment by the Thais and Malays); a few of us may even cock an eyebrow at the plight of the Palestinians. But these are not what we usually condemn. As for "*Chicanos por la raza*" (which hardly needs translating) or "Black Power," we scarcely murmur a word of disapproval. We may even sympathise without any uneasy qualms of our well-trained selective liberal consciences. When Jesse Jackson — or, for that matter, hosts of liberal Whites — anathematise racism, they mean White racism. All agree that this is the one unarguably Bad Thing. Nor do we mean only in the way it is expressed by the Nazis or the Klan. We mean any body of opinion which includes the limiting adjective "White," as, for example, "White Citizens' Councils."

It does not stop there. A considerable and growing body of reputable scientists who have challenged the orthodox dogma of absolute racial equality — Jensen, Shockley, Eysenck, Herrnstein, to name only a few — are either ignored, silenced, denied a forum in the media, or subjected to assault, intimidation and violent counter-demonstrations whenever they seek to be heard.

At the same time, we accept with equanimity the equivocations of the Bakke decision and the clear anti-White prejudice of the Weber decision. As for the 1954 seminal *Brown v. Board of Education* case, we have watched the courts perpetrate a 180° inversion of its original meaning. It originally laid down that no child should be compelled to attend a school other than its neighbourhood school by reason of race. We have seen this Supreme Court ruling stood on its head in an Orwellian newspeak fashion and, aside from some ineffectual protests, we have stood by while White children are in fact bussed miles away from their neighbourhood schools precisely because of their race. At best, we have appealed to those same courts which have so tyrannised over us to reverse their own rulings. We have sought to justify our inanition by pharisaical assertions that we must obey the law of the land, while most carefully avoiding recognition of the

fact that the US courts were never set up to make law, only to rule on the constitutionality of existing law. Yet we see no anomaly in honouring every Fourth of July the men of Lexington and Concord who most certainly broke the law in defence of their freedom. Resistance to tyranny is hardly racism.

WHEN IS IT EVIL?

But what is racism, and when is it evil? There can be little argument among civilised people, I think, that gratuitous cruelty, abuse, or even bad manners directed toward an individual solely on account of his race is despicable.

But it is also a mathematical certainty that the talents, capabilities and aptitudes, both physical and mental — as well as emotional and psychological predilections for particular social and cultural norms — will differ from race to race and be unequal. To pose the least offensive case: while an individual Welshman or Portuguese may be a world-champion weightlifter, a thousand Welshmen or Portuguese, who both belong to the Mediterranean race with its lighter bone structure and musculature, will not be able to lift the same aggregate weight as an equal number of Swedes or Watusis.

Where raw intelligence is concerned, there is a similar mathematical certainty that it differs among races as it does among individuals of the same race. And there is no longer any real dispute about the fact that intelligence is overwhelmingly genetically determined. Studies of identical twins, separated at birth or shortly thereafter and raised in widely-differing socio-economic environments, have proved this. The inherited intelligence is only marginally affected by environmental factors. For a long time, both democratic egalitarians and Marxists clung tenaciously to the environmental position; and rightly so, since the concept of an immutable hierarchy of ability determined by heredity is totally destructive to their cherished philosophical faiths.

Now the question must be squarely faced: Do any of these considerations justify embarking on a discussion of racism as a viable hypothesis and not its summary rejection as mere diabolism?

Any species which achieves a wide geographical distribution will, by reason of mutations and a process known as genetic drift, subdivide into a number of subspecies. The terms *subspecies*, *variety*, *breed* and *race* are interchangeable. They indicate groups whose inherited characteristics are broadly

similar and differ significantly both from those of the parent species and those of other subspecies. Subspecies are still capable of breeding with each other and producing fertile offspring; although, given isolation from each other for a sufficiently long period, they will eventually drift so far apart genetically that they will become fully separate species and be incapable of cross-breeding or, in a few cases, produce offspring which are themselves invariably sterile. The mule, the tigon and the liger are examples of this last.

In the case of Man, he has achieved a wider geographical distribution than any other creature, even the common housefly. He is the sole survivor of what were once several competing species of hominids. And he in turn has subdivided into a number of races with physical and mental attributes which have evolved to meet the different challenges of a wide variety of environments. These environments may be at a simple natural level. Examples of this kind of interaction between nature and biology include sickle-cell anaemia which appears to confer a considerable immunity to malaria, or the pale white skin of the North European which enables him to maximise the limited sunlight in manufacturing vitamin D. The Indians of Tierra del Fuego are said to have evolved a metabolism which maintains their body temperature a full degree higher than the rest of humanity and enables them to withstand bitter cold with little or no clothing and the most primitive form of shelter. There are scores of similar instances of special biological adaptation.

ARTIFICIAL ENVIRONMENTS

I believe that, in addition to these responses to natural environments, there are artificial environments — such as urban life or a culture geared to trade and commerce — which also promote the survival of certain selected types and tend to eliminate other types. Here, emotional and psychological characteristics become more important than what we usually mean by physical — although the separation of the two may be in itself somewhat artificial, since the brain is, after all, a physical organ and we now know a great deal about the relationship between the endocrine glands and mental and emotional characteristics.

What then of racial antipathy, which is commonly considered as simply an evil prejudice? Can non-human species be "evil"? Any zoologist would confirm that varieties

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The following is the text of the closing speech delivered by NF Chairman John Tyndall to the National Front's Annual General Meeting held at the Wellington Pier Pavilion, Great Yarmouth in October.

Mr. Chairman, fellow members,

It's my habit, when I address this conference each year, to evoke the spirit of struggle — because it's a fact that every step forward that our movement has made over the years has been accomplished only by the bitterest struggle. This was never more so than the year we've just been through. We've come along a hard road to this meeting, and when I look back along that road I can almost see the visible ravages of war. I can almost see the smoky aftermath of gunfire. I can almost see the bodies strewn along the wayside. I can almost see the charred tree-stumps and the tangled metal.

But the important thing is that we're here — and that once more our National Front has survived the blows of its enemies — enemies without and enemies within — and that once more it lives to fight again!

In every great war, in every great struggle, there are those who become casualties — including those who feel the effects of shell shock. And in every war, in every struggle, there are those who — when the din of battle is at its loudest and the fighting most bitter — wonder whether there's not an easier road, a softer road, to victory — a road without all this struggle and hardship and bitterness.

Fellow members, the people who engage in those kinds of speculations are people who totally fail to understand the sort of world we live in — and the forces that prevail in that world, the forces we're up against. Forty years ago last month these very powers unleashed a world war upon us, a world war that cost many millions of lives, so as to make the world safe for their system — the system that they call 'democracy' but which should be called 'Shylockracy'. Since the end of that war the Western World, including this country, has been almost totally under their control — political parties, parliaments, press and all the other powerful institutions.

In a world like this, anyone who tries to raise again the standards of nationalism, patriotism or race, anyone who works for the resurgence of the West, as opposed to the decline of the West, lets himself in for a lifetime of struggle — titanic struggle against all the massed battalions of evil, falsehood and corruption who rule the world today through the power of money and with the weapon of lies.

There is no easy way — there is no comfortable way — there is no nice and genteel way to oppose these powers — and everyone who's tried those ways has faded into oblivion sooner or later. There's only the hard way, the way of struggle — and if anyone thinks otherwise, let him point to any movement in this country over the last 50 years, whose ideals are our ideals, that

JOHN TYNDALL

Our Movement lives to fight again!

has made any impact by the soft approach, by an approach which avoids hardness and struggle.

One part of the struggle on the way to this meeting has been the struggle with Yarmouth Borough Council. I'm sure you all know the history of this struggle. It was resolved in the Appeal Court earlier this month, when the council was compelled to honour a contract with us that they'd tried to break. The whole affair was an eye-opener to those people who still labour under the belief that we live in a free country. The whole affair tore the mask off the squalid racket that masquerades in this country under the name of 'democracy'. When they talk about 'democracy' today, what they mean is a massive conspiracy of corruption, hypocrisy and fraud — a system that marches whole nations to self-destruction under the banner of 'freedom', then throws freedom out of the window the moment the system feels threatened!

This battle against Yarmouth Council has been symptomatic of a year of battle on all fronts. During this year our movement has had to draw upon all its resources of toughness and resilience in dealing with successive onslaughts by enemies *outside* and *within* the party. The fight against the enemy *outside* came in the run-up to the General Election and during the General Election. The fight against the enemy *inside* came *after* the General Election.

OUR OWN GREATEST DEPRECATORS

We in the National Front are sometimes our own greatest deprecators, and it's often been said to me by people outside the party that we fail to recognise how much latent support, how much potential support, we have in this country and how frantic the establishment is about us. I think that many of us have too easily and too quickly lost sight of the magnitude of our achievement last May in putting up 301 candidates in the election. Nothing remotely near this has ever been achieved by a British nationalist party in this country. Beside this achievement, the efforts of every other group on the nationalist scene now and in the past are puny by comparison. We fought nearly half the seats in the United Kingdom. We actually did what the press and our other enemies just thought we were pretending we would do. When we spoke of this target in 1977 and 1978, they all said it was just big talk — we were bluffing. One paper which claimed to have authoritative inside information on the actual strength of the NF wrote that the real number of seats that

we'd be able to fight would be about 140 at the very most. Talk of 300 was just hot air.

Yet we actually did fight the 300 in the end. We did so after only 12 years' existence as a party. Nothing like it has ever been done before!

As the election approached I was often asked to make a forecast as to what sort of vote we'd get. I was asked to make extravagant predictions of success — of deposits retained, even of seats won. I refused to make any such predictions because I always had a sober appreciation of the power of the Establishment and the forces opposed to us. Whether we would achieve our target of 300 candidates — that was something we could determine ourselves — that was something in which success or failure would rest on our own efforts. But the votes we could get — that was something different. I always knew, and I think most of my colleagues in the leadership of this party always knew, that the votes rested on a number of factors entirely outside our control. Any party fighting an election is affected, not just by what it does, but by what its opponents do. By what its opponents do and by the general climate of opinion prevailing in the country. That climate of opinion in turn is affected very much by what's written in the press and what's said on TV and radio.

There's an old phrase about "doing one's best and leaving unto the Lord the rest" and this applies to political parties during election time. A party can mobilise its own inner resources to the maximum effectiveness possible — given the limits of those resources. It can then project the best image that it lies within its power to project — the best image of its leadership and the best image of its policies. After that, the whole thing lies in the lap of the gods. Is the political pendulum currently swinging in the party's favour? What is the current national mood in the country? What are the other parties saying and are people believing them? The National Front is subject to these laws of political life just as the other parties are.

WHAT IMAGE?

In fact we're much more subject to these laws than the other parties are. I spoke just now of a party projecting its 'image', but when we come to the National Front it's fair to ask: "What 'image' have we ever had the chance to project?" When the leaders of a party are on television every day and every night, when the policies of a party are discussed in detail in every newspaper and on every radio or TV discussion programme, then it's possible to talk about a party

projecting its image, and it's possible to argue whether it's a good image or a bad image. But how can you argue when a party has no opportunity of projecting an image at all? How can you argue when a party's almost completely blacked out by the news media? When I hear people in the National Front arguing about our 'image', the first thought that strikes me is: what image? What image have we ever been permitted to have that we've determined ourselves? The only image that we've ever been permitted to have is the image that press, radio and TV have decided we'll have — so when you argue about our image at the moment you're simply arguing in a vacuum. What we've got to do in the future is build up our resources as a party so that gradually we acquire what we don't now have — an effective image-creating machinery. Then we can argue about whether we have the right image or the wrong image — not before.

At the moment in an election we can rely on one 5-minute TV and one 5-minute radio broadcast at off-peak times. In terms of modern mass-communication you can't even start to make a real impression on the basis of that sort of time — you have to be in the headlines every day and several times each day. So what we have left is millions of election addresses going out into people's letterboxes. Now election addresses don't win elections — in fact they get very few votes. To the big parties the main point of an election address through the door is to make sure the electors know the name of the party's candidate. Very few election addresses ever persuaded people to vote for one party rather than another.

WHAT DETERMINED VOTES?

So what determined our votes in the 1979 election? In the absence of our own mass media which puts over the full policies and personalities of our party — a mass media which we're going to take years more to build — one thing determined our votes: what the public felt about the one issue on which they do know our policy (immigration) and whether they thought that any of the other parties was going to do anything about it.

During 1976 and 1977 people not only felt strongly about the issue — they couldn't see the other parties doing anything about it. So what did they do? They started voting National Front in large numbers. We had the tremendous council election results in Leicester in 1976 and in London in 1977. We had a number of highly impressive by-election performances — in Thurrock, in Rotherham, in Walsall, in Stechford. The Establishment got very rattled.

What then happened was bound to happen. The Establishment started mobilising its resources of counter-attack. This counter-attack took two main directions:—

In the first place the mass media were mobilised to cut us off from all forms of

publicity — except publicity of the most vicious and slanted type. We were granted no more proper interviews, no more discussion of our real policies. The only publicity we were allowed was publicity of riots and confrontations and violence. This was organised mainly by the National Union of Journalists and the Jewish Board of Deputies.

The second thing that happened was that the Conservatives pretended to adopt our policies — or at least part of them. Mrs. Thatcher made her famous remark about the British people getting swamped. From that time onwards I noticed our votes at elections were going down. People thought the Tories were going to do something about the Blacks and the Asians — and maybe a few other things too. We heard strident noises about sorting out the unions. We heard tough speeches about law and order. We heard there was going to be a vote in the Commons on the restoration of Capital Punishment. We heard talk about standing up to the terrorists in Northern Ireland and Rhodesia. So a lot of people said: why vote for the National Front — who can only do something in the long term — if we can vote for the Tories who'll do something in the short term?

I could see this climate of opinion building up before the election — and for that reason I refused to make any big promises about the votes we'd win in that election. It seemed to me highly probable that the Tories would succeed in conning the voters with this hard-line 'right-wing' stance, so that we'd have to have maybe 2 or 3 years of Tory Government before people would wake up — 2 or 3 years in which the Tories would be seen to be ratting on all their election promises. So it proved. The people were conned — and without the command of mass-circulation newspapers, radio and TV, there was nothing we could do about it.

BIGGEST EVER CAMPAIGN

What we could do was what we did. We mounted the biggest ever campaign in the history of our party or any other British nationalist party and we left our visiting card in millions of homes all over this country — a visiting card which people could store away for future reference when the broken promises of the Tories became exposed by the march of events. If the Tories are to keep these votes they won off us, they must be seen to be doing the things they said they'd do — about immigration, about unions, about law and order. In just a few months they've already shown they're going to do nothing. This means that the pendulum can — and will — swing back in our favour. If we don't destroy ourselves in the meantime!

Now maybe at this point some people in the party will be saying: this is just Tyndall putting his own complexion on things. All right — let us listen to another opinion, an opinion of *The New Statesman*, a weekly

magazine of the extreme left and therefore no friend either of mine or of the National Front. *The New Statesman* said (and I quote the issue published on the 11th May this year):

"It would be gratifying if one could conclude from these results that the NF is truly a spent force. Such a dismissal may be premature. Probably the main reason for the Front's performance was the success of Mrs. Thatcher and the Tory Party in capturing the race and immigration issue from the NF. To keep this support Mrs. Thatcher may have to be seen to be 'delivering' on the immigration issue . . . one wonders whether the Conservative Party would countenance such stringency."

To which I can answer — quite clearly it would not, as it proved at the recent Tory Conference.

That's not all. Let me read from an article about Race that appeared in *The Observer* earlier this month. The article said (and I quote):

"A lot of people believe that the level of new immigration is damaging to British society. This belief has no rational basis. Nevertheless, it is a political fact, and we have to respond to it. If we don't, we shall no longer be able to keep the issue within the boundaries of consensus politics, and the National Front will flourish electorally — as it noticeably ceased to do after Mrs. Thatcher put down her marker with the word 'swamped'."

OUTSIDE OUR CONTROL

What could be plainer than that! The article says two things. It says that the Establishment must carry on pretending that it's going to do something about Immigration in order to keep people within the fold of the Establishment parties. The other thing that it says is that it was Mrs. Thatcher's pretence that something would be done which took votes away from the NF. *The Observer* is no more a friend of ours than *The New Statesman* but it recognises what the *New Statesman* recognises — that we lost votes in the last election because of events entirely outside our control. We can win those votes back if we keep together as a party, keep our heads, keep working and keep talking to the people, and wait for events to prove us right — as they will do and as they are doing already! We won't win those votes back by a lot of internal recriminations and in-fighting!

I spoke a few moments ago about party images, and I said that the fact that we have to face today is that the image that the public has of us as a party is an image created by others and not by ourselves — but I still find that there are people in the party who are naive enough to think that by means of a few cosmetics we can change this image. Now I have here a picture of the Archbishop of Canterbury — wearing the uniform of no less an organisation than the

Waffen SS. Of course the picture is a fake! But just supposing that His Grace the Archbishop were to undergo a revelation comparable to that of Saul on the Road to Damascus — and to join the National Front! I admit it's not likely — but just supposing it happened. Do you think that our enemies would not publish a picture similar to this and push it through every letter-box in every constituency where the NF was fighting an election? Do you think they wouldn't do it? Ah, you may say, but people would know that the Archbishop of Canterbury has never worn an SS uniform! All right. Let us find another Bishop, not so well known. Or let us find an ordinary common clergyman. Or let us find a philanthropist — or a candlestick-maker's clerk — and let's put him into a position in the NF and put him up as a candidate in an election — and they'll do just the same thing if they want to; they'll print a smear leaflet something like this and they'll put it out through all the doors. And if we then say: "This man has never worn that uniform — it's all untrue!" who's going to listen to us? Is the Director General of the BBC going to let us come on the air and issue a denial that the man ever wore such a uniform? In the words of Eliza Doolittle, **not bloody likely!**

LET'S DEAL IN REALITIES

So let's come down from out of the clouds, fellow members, and let's deal in realities — we've got to face this kind of muck whether we like it or not, and no cosmetic operations of our own are going to change it. The day that our opponents stop this sort of thing will be the day that they're no longer worried about us enough to bother. We simply have to fight our way through it — until the day comes when people either say: "I don't believe it — it's a lie!" or they say: "So what — I'm voting NF anyway!"

As I said at the beginning, we've come along a hard road to this meeting, and I've described to you some of the trials and problems that we've had to deal with. These have been trials and problems inherent in the political situation in which we fight — trials and problems brought upon us by the hatred of our enemies — by the fear of our enemies — and by the deceit of our enemies.

But that's not all. During this year we've had a further struggle on our hands — a struggle against a determined effort to smash our party **from the inside**. Like all other efforts in the past, **this effort has failed too**.

I don't propose to take you on a long tour of that battlefield, because Richard Verrall has already covered the subject. I'd just like to deal with one or two misconceptions.

Because I'm one of those who's very proud of our achievements, don't let anyone think that I'm blind to the weaknesses in our movement. Don't let anyone think that I'm not aware that much still has to be done to improve this party. One of the problems of

this immense effort that we made to achieve our target of 300 candidates in the last election was that many other areas of party work and organisation, not directly concerned with the election itself, became neglected for a while. There simply wasn't time to give them proper attention. As soon as the election was over it was my intention to start giving some time to these problems — and I wanted to sit down and talk with everyone who had an opinion to offer about how we may tackle those problems. But of course up to now I just haven't had time. No sooner was the election over than a group of people started an internal war in our party. They didn't want to sit down and discuss our problems and our weaknesses with a view to working together to overcome them — they just wanted to **exploit** those problems and weaknesses so as to cause confusion and division — confusion and division out of which they hoped to take the party over. Well, it's a pity they didn't study the history of the National Front and take a few lessons from it. People like them have tried the same thing before. It was tried in 1968. It was tried again in 1970. Again in 1972. Again in 1975. There's been a long record of attempts to smash this movement from the inside, and every attempt has **failed**. They've tried it again this year — and once more they've **failed!** Despite all their vicious little circulars through the post — circulars they didn't even have the courage to sign with their own names — despite all their co-operation with the gutter press and from the gutter press, despite all their lies and intrigue, they've **failed**. Now let me once and for all serve notice on anyone who fancies that they can hi-jack our party in the future. Those people who have built this party, those people whose vision, whose brains, whose industry, whose dedication and sacrifice over many years have put this party on the map — never, never, never will these people permit the National Front to be taken over. Never! Never!

MISLEADERS AND MISLED

Now in all these divisive periods of the party there have been the **misleaders** and the **misled**. The tiny few dedicated to disruption — and a larger number who have gone along with them, largely because of ignorance of what was going on, sometimes because of a sense of grievance, sometimes a justified grievance. As far as this second group of people are concerned, I don't want to keep quarrels going for ever. We've now got a new year ahead of us in which there's a tremendous amount of work to be done. It's a situation in which we need all **willing hands on deck** — whatever way you voted in the recent party elections, whatever side you were on. If you have a disagreement with me, come and talk to me about it, or write me a letter. That's the way to thrash out our differences and sort out our problems — the reasonable way, the **constitutional way**.

Some people didn't want to sort out our problems the constitutional way but just wanted to create anarchy in the party — and with these people we've dealt very firmly. Some people have criticised me for this and said there shouldn't have been any suspensions or expulsions. Well, I don't accept that, and I'll tell you why.

In this speech and in many other speeches and articles I've likened our struggle to that of a **war**. If you're going to win a war, you have to have discipline in your Army. In all civilised armies — and certainly in our party — there's a machinery for the redress of complaints. A man can go and see his officer and tell him if something's wrong. And a member of our party can do the same.

But an army in war has to draw the line. It draws the line at **mutiny**. Mutiny means a deliberate and conscious disobedience of orders — a deliberate challenge to authority. An army in war — for that matter a whole nation in war — also draws the line at acts which help the enemy. If such a line were not drawn, defeat would be inevitable.

The French Army faced a mutiny in 1917. When the grievances involved in that mutiny were later examined, some of them were found to be justified and they were put right as far as circumstances allowed. But there was never any question about what had to be done with the ringleaders of the mutiny. They were taken out and shot. If they hadn't been, it would have been the green light for more mutinies — leading to the wholesale disintegration of the French Army and the loss of the war.

CRITICISM

In our war — our political war — the leadership has to take criticism and we take a great deal. Sometimes the criticism is right, sometimes not. But the moment that a member says: **I refuse to recognise the decision of the Directorate and I urge other members not to recognise it** — or the moment that a member provides information to the enemy which harms us and therefore which gives aid and comfort to the enemy (and the daily press is an enemy) — **such members must be kicked out without further ado**. That's what recent expulsions have been about, and that's the way it's going to remain.

One of the things that we despise about British Governments for so many years is the fact that they're terrified. They just haven't got the will to deal with anarchy and lawlessness — they're too weak. Well, no one will ever take the National Front seriously as a party that's going to restore law and order to this country if it can't maintain law and order in its own ranks.

In our party the source of authority is the Directorate. We may sometimes strongly disagree with the decisions of the Directorate — and I have done on two occasions recently myself — but we have to obey the Directorate, otherwise the party falls apart. If I can obey the Directorate when I disagree with it, it's

reasonable for me to expect others to do the same.

It would be completely paranoid for us to say that every person who had a criticism of the Directorate, or of me personally or of any other leading officer of the Directorate, was an 'enemy of the party', an 'enemy within'. That's the language of Communism — every critic, every dissenter, is an 'enemy of the people'. Of course the great majority of people who are critical of the leadership from time to time only have the party interest at heart.

But when I hear of some member organising a mutiny in his area, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the party's lawfully elected governing body, I say that that person is behaving like an enemy — he's doing the enemy's work as thoroughly as if the enemy were paying him for it. So when I talk of our party having struggled throughout this last year against enemies on the outside and on the inside, I choose those words deliberately.

Now we're coming towards the end of our annual conference for 1979 and I think that nearly everybody in this hall has but one question in their mind: is our great movement going to hold fast — is it going to hold together and march forward in the coming year, or is it not? On that question I'm in no doubt — we *will* hold fast, we *will* hold together and we *will* march forward!

WE CLEARED UP THE MESS

This is not just brave talk. I have a wealth of experience with these situations. In 1972 there was a wrecking attempt within the party and everyone became very demoralised for a time and there were a few resignations and the press were gleefully pronouncing that we were finished — washed up. We kept our heads. We cleared up the mess. And we entered into one of the greatest growth periods ever in the history of the National Front — quadrupling our membership in just 2 years.

This worried our enemies frantic, and at the end of 1974 and throughout 1975 they made a fresh attempt to smash us up from the inside. We had a year of quarrelling — ending up in a court action. At the end of 1975 we cleared the rubbish out and we started afresh. 1976 and 1977 saw another tremendous growth period for the National Front, as you all know. Let us never underestimate the great recuperative powers that lie in the inner recesses of this movement. Sometimes we ask ourselves: what is the source of these powers? Why don't we fold up — or go into oblivion, like the Monday Club did after an internal quarrel 3 or 4 years ago? They just went into oblivion. They lost heart. Why don't we do that? Why have we always overcome our troubles and come back more strongly than ever before?

The answer is that we're **Nationalists** and they're **Tories**. We have behind us a mighty and powerful idea that can move

mountains and conquer every adversity — they have nothing except weakness and compromise. We have in us the spirit of battle and the spirit of conquest — they only have the spirit of surrender.

Look at the Tories today! You see the spirit of surrender on every front! They went into the election saying they were going to stem the flood of immigration. No sooner were they in office than they surrendered every position, one after another. Today all they're doing on the immigration issue is crawling after the immigrant vote!

Look at Rhodesia! Once again it's surrender on top of surrender. The first surrender they made a long time ago — and that was the worst surrender of all. They supported Black rule instead of White rule — and when they did that they surrendered the whole principle of Empire that the Tory Party's supposed to have stood for over the ages. But they said they wouldn't surrender to the terrorists — oh no! — they'd support a 'respectable', 'bourgeois' Black leader like Muzorewa instead of terrorist leaders like Nkomo and Mugabe. And what are they doing now? They're sitting down and talking to Nkomo and Mugabe — the men who've ordered the butchering of women and little children. They regard the terrorists as 'respectable'. Another surrender!

Meanwhile we've seen one surrender after another on the trade union front. On the way to the election they were attacking closed shops and secondary picketing. They said we ought to have the secret ballot throughout industry — something we were saying years before. And what have they done since they came to power? They've surrendered and backed down on one point after another! Mr. Prior says that instead of the Government making decisions to drag our trade unions into the 20th Century and put an end to industrial warfare he's going to sit down and discuss with the trade union leaders what ought to be done. It reminds me of a government that wants to put an end to crime sitting down and discussing how to do it with the bosses of the Mafia!

And what about crime? What about law and order? Before the election they said they were going to have a free vote in the House of Commons on Hanging. And the voters thought: Ah! something might come of that; at least that's more than Labour's doing! What happened? They had the vote and half the Tories voted against it. Another surrender!

And what about law and order in Northern Ireland? As soon as the Tories got to power they appointed a new Secretary of State, Mr. Atkins. One look at Mr. Atkins and it is quite obvious that in a competition for the biggest wet in politics he might even come ahead of his predecessor, Willie Whitelaw. What did he do as soon as he got the job? He said his policy in Northern Ireland would be a 'bi-partisan policy'. A 'bi-partisan policy'? In other words Mr. Atkins is not partisan between people who

are loyal to the United Kingdom and people who want to break up the United Kingdom. What a start! Since then we've seen an IRA rally in Belfast with IRA leaders making speeches right under the noses of the security forces and nothing done about it. So much for Tory policy in Northern Ireland. Another surrender!

And so it goes on. In just a few months the Tories have run away from one pledge after another, from one challenge after another. In just a few months the Tories have shown their real colours.

The latest report we have is that this year so far more days have been lost in industrial disputes than in any year since the General Strike of 1926. This is the record of the party that came to power with the promise that it was going to put an end to industrial war!

Recently Mrs. Thatcher made another 'iron lady' speech. She talked about the Communist threat. But what did she say about the Communist threat? She spoke about Russia and its military build-up in Eastern Europe. Fine! We now wait to see what Mrs. Thatcher's going to do to build up our own forces — so far she's done next to nothing. But let's get our priorities right. What a British Prime Minister should be talking about first of all is not what the reds are doing in Eastern Europe but what the reds are doing here in Britain! So far I haven't heard a single word from Mrs. Thatcher about red activity in this country. Is she aware of it? Does she care about it? Or is she just frightened to talk about it?

NOW LISTEN TO US! ! ! !

Now that the General Election has come and gone we in the National Front have entered a new phase — a new situation. Before the election millions of people were hoping for some deliverance from the Tories — and our potential for growth and support was limited by that hope. Now, a few months afterwards, it's become quite clear that under the Tories there's going to be the same broken promises, the same weakness, the same muddle, the same surrender as under Labour. This is the time when we must summon all our resources and go to the people and say: We told you this would happen. Now it has happened. Now listen to us! This country of ours in its misery and in its despair and humiliation will not be rescued by Toryism — whether it be Heath Toryism or Thatcher Toryism. It will not be rescued by a bit of tinkering here, a bit of adjustment there. It cannot be saved by the people and by the parties that have brought us to collapse. It can only be saved by dynamic change, by change so sweeping and so radical as to be far beyond the powers of the old parties with their old remedies and their old ways of thinking.

In the place of their old thinking, we offer a new ideal. In the place of their weak-

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Unite now after defeating subversion!

Below is the text of a speech by Richard Verrall to the NF Annual General Meeting at Great Yarmouth last month.

Mr. Chairman, fellow members,

WE COME together at this Annual General Meeting today having just emerged – and we still have not yet emerged completely – from a period of crisis and internal division. Our party has recently experienced a massive campaign of internal subversion, and I am quite convinced that deeply involved in this campaign have been the real enemies of the National Front.

It seems that every few years we are forced to undergo regular and almost predictable bouts of factionalism and conspiracy, of power grabbing instead of constitutional power seeking, and of downright sabotage and subversion. And I am sure you will agree with me when I say that the thing which distinguishes this subversion, and always identifies it as the work of our enemies, is the way in which it uses the enemy media as a weapon against the party. We may all have our differences of opinion, but to do that is nothing but treason.

The campaign of subversion from which we are now emerging has undoubtedly been one of great sophistication, and all the signs are that it has been planned for a long time. Those involved in it realised that the most important part of their conspiracy was to shatter the morale of our membership by a sustained and vicious campaign to discredit the constitutionally elected leadership of the party. As a result, we have all seen the most disgusting, scurrilous and wicked lies and defamations dredged up from the gutter to attack virtually every prominent member of the party's leadership in the hope that the rank and file membership would lose all faith in them.

There is one particular person I can think of who has been attacked in this way – a person who has entered the hearts of nearly everyone in the party and whose honesty, dedication and tireless work at Head Office is unequalled. And when I think of how she has served the party, and then I look at the squalid lies put about by the conspirators, I realise that we are dealing not only with a subversive faction, but with sick, twisted and poisonous little minds.

This concerted plan to denigrate the Directorate and its most prominent members has nevertheless served a very subtle purpose. It has served to disguise the real behind-the-scenes activities of the plotters and to deflect attention away from the real objec-

tive of the conspiracy – which has been to seize control of the party by seizing effective control of the party's assets.

While we have all been rushing around in a state of agitation about smears and counter-smears, many of us have failed to notice what has really been going on. Personal attacks on individuals are easy to grasp and easily get people worked up; not so easily grasped and not so easily seen are the manipulations of those out to control the financial power structure of the party.

A particularly clever example of this has been the deliberate promotion of innuendos about the handling of money. While people have been put into a state of alarm about money coming into Head Office – which is simply recorded and taken away each week by the National Treasurer – they have not been thinking about what happens to it afterwards, about the party's accounts, about the companies and who controls them, about Excalibur House, and who controls that.

This is what has really lain at the back of the recent subversion in the party. Standing behind the National Front now is over £100,000 worth of assets – and we have been engaged in a battle to ensure that those assets remain with the National Front.

I remember thinking when we were still at our office in Teddington, and as the companies were being formed that would buy and operate from Excalibur House – I thought: "Opening up here is a whole new area of potential danger to the party." But I put that thought to the back of my mind and believed that it was something we would not have to worry about for some years. I thought that those people currently involved in these enterprises were to be trusted.

This, as we now see, proved to be an illusion. Whilst the political leadership of the National Front was immersed in preparation for the General Election, behind our backs was being hatched a determined plan to use the company NF Properties Ltd., the building and the Excalibur Club as a separate base of power in the party, controlling independently the assets that all of us had striven so hard to acquire, and to divorce this power base from the ultimate control and authority of the elected National Directorate.

At this point let me deal briefly with the formation of the structure we are talking about. It was obvious to everyone that we could never raise the money necessary to acquire a decent-sized building in central London simply by launching a Building

Fund to which members would donate. We knew that the only method was the creation of a Limited Company in which members would invest more substantial sums in return for a dividend. But whilst we knew that the majority of the capital would come from individual shareholders, and therefore the National Front as such would be a minority shareholder, we also knew that it was essential for the party to retain ultimate control of the company. This company was established to serve the party, and we did not want a situation in which it could ever become controlled by a private consortium.

The means by which the party was to exercise this control was the issue of a special category of shares having extra voting rights, shares which would be held by nominees appointed by the Directorate on behalf of the party. In law, such nominees can be replaced if necessary, and must exercise their votes at company meetings in accordance with the wishes of the Directorate. These nominees, on the recommendation of Mr. Kavanagh, were Andrew Fountaine, John Harrison-Broadley and Michael Stubbs.

The Directorate was assured that this was the means by which it, as the elected governing body of the party, would retain control.

It soon became apparent that this was not the case. All three nominees for different reasons ceased to be members of the party. All three for different reasons were no longer prepared to support the party leadership or act in accordance with the constitutional wishes of the Directorate. Mr. Fountaine in particular came into increasing conflict with the Directorate and subsequently was expelled. Consequently your elected Directorate voted by an overwhelming majority vote to change the nominees holding the party's shares in the company and appoint new ones.

At this point we discovered that Mr. Kavanagh and those involved in the companies were not going to recognise the authority of the Directorate in this matter. They turned round to the Directorate and said: "We are not going to recognise your new nominees, and you cannot change the old ones. They hold their positions for life." The former nominees were incited not to sign over their shareholding, and are now carrying out the wishes, not of the Directorate, but of Mr. Kavanagh and his associates. They have even ignored the instructions of the Directorate on how to vote at company meetings, and have voted in completely the opposite way.

I should tell you that all this is quite unlawful, and next month we shall be bringing an action in the High Court to get the new nominees recognised, to compel the transfer of the shares and thereby to regain the party's control over our own property.

A similar attempt to separate the Excalibur Club from the authority of the

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GREAT BRITISH RACIALISTS

No. 6 ELIZABETH I (1533-1603)



"I always feel that our movement is closer in spirit to the Tudor and Elizabethan era, when British culture enjoyed its finest flowering, when this was a land of music and song, and when the first outburst of national expansion took place. This was the age when we joyfully took up the challenge against Portugal and Spain for mastery of the oceans. In that age men first thought of the Empire . . ."

In those words John Tyndall in a speech to the 1978 NF Annual Conference summed up that feeling of pride felt by all Englishmen in the great age of nationalism, expansionism and cultural renaissance associated with the reign of Elizabeth I. When she came to the throne in 1558, Armagil Waad described the state of the nation: "... the realm exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed, want of good captains and soldiers. The people out of order. Justice not executed . . . divisions amongst ourselves." Elizabeth's achievement was to satisfy the craving for national stability and to win the loyalty and affection of all her people. She turned an economy bled by loans from foreign bankers at 14 per cent interest into a self-sufficient, export-orientated economy free of debt, with usury pegged and a revalued strong sterling. She transformed a nation on its knees into an embryo world power.

The opening years of her reign were dominated by the religious issue, which was really the issue of national sovereignty. J. B. Black writes: "The main question at issue from the government's standpoint was one of jurisdiction rather than one of religion — namely the maintenance of sovereignty against the false, usurped and alien authority of Rome." Pope Gregory XIII had the destruction of Elizabeth, the 'English Jezebel', as the "master purpose of his life." In 1580 he authorised Elizabeth's assassination (to him, "so glorious a work") and insisted that any such assassin "not only does not sin, but gains merit." Elizabeth,

however, wished not to persecute Catholics but, as Francis Bacon put it, to "restraint only manifest disobedience." Patriotic sermons of the day urged both Catholics and Protestants to rally to the Queen's support "lest we all go together and row in the galleys of Spain."

It was in Elizabeth's great challenge to Spanish power that a far more coherent nationalism developed than had shaped the old rivalry with France. Naturally, she did not recognise the Papal *dictat* that the New World was the property of Spain and Portugal, and men like Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, through their daring raids on Spanish cargo shipping brought in vital revenue while at the same time cutting the economic life-blood of Spain. By the end of the reign, England was not only a foremost sea-faring power but the lowest taxed nation in Europe.

In the Armada year of 1588 Elizabeth proved her invincible power as a leader of men, and in her speech to the troops at Tilbury rose to her greatest public achievement and finest expression of patriotism. She began:—

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery." She dismissed this advice: *"Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself, that under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare invade the borders of my Realm."*

Elizabeth I was a racialist. Indeed when the time comes for the mass repatriation from Britain of Blacks and Asians, the necessary Bill to be passed in Parliament will be able to refer in its preamble to the precedent set by Elizabeth I in 1596, and an Act of the Privy Council which expelled the "blackamoors" from England. This is how she dealt with her immigrant problem:

"Her Majestie, understanding that there are of late divers blackamoors brought into this realme, of which kinde of people there are already too manie, considering how God hath blessed this land with great increase of people of our owne nation . . . those kinde of people should be sent forth of the land." (Acts of the Privy Council, 11th August, 1596).

Since the expulsion of the Jews from

England in 1290 by Edward I, the Tudor period was consequently not troubled by them. However Elizabeth's views can be gauged from a comment written in 1556 about extreme Protestant factionalists, who had *"the rebellious hearts and devilish intents of Christians in name, but Jews in deed . . ."*

JENSEN FIGHTS BACK ON RACE

Professor Arthur Jensen is returning to the fray over racial differences in intelligence with a new book to be published this December. It is a massive technical analysis of IQ tests which Jensen considers to be the last word on racial intelligence testing. Entitled *Bias in Mental Testing*, the book conclusively affirms his original evidence that Blacks score significantly lower on IQ tests, and that this fact is genetic in origin, not environmental.

Prof. Jensen entered the fray a decade ago with his famous article on racial intelligence differences published in the *Harvard Educational Review*. Jensen demonstrated that two generations of IQ testing showed Blacks to consistently score 15 points lower than Whites. He estimated that a quarter of this IQ gap was due to environmental and cultural differences, and the rest to genetic inheritance. Since then, the Left has frantically tried to suppress the evidence,



Prof. Arthur Jensen

or distort it. In the uproar over Jensen's findings the National Education Association in America demanded a ban on all IQ tests of the young. And today a judge can ban IQ tests for showing up racial differences in intelligence.

Jensen's latest blockbuster comes to the following definitive conclusions: that a better vocabulary does not bias results in favour of Whites, and that Blacks do slightly better on verbal tests; that IQ tests are not "culturally unfair", and that Blacks do worse on abstract tests where culturally-biased references are rigorously excluded; that IQ tests are very accurate in predicting future success or failure; and that when White and Black children of equal socioeconomic status are tested, Whites score an average of 12 IQ points higher than Blacks.

A NEW LEADERSHIP SYSTEM FOR THE N.F.

John Tyndall talks to *Spearhead*

THE RESOLUTIONS

10. This AGM records its dissatisfaction with the existing method by which the party's governing body is chosen, and in particular with that aspect whereby members are called upon to make their choice from a ballot list consisting of large numbers of candidates of whom they know little or nothing. This situation tends to encourage the practice of some candidates, or their supporters, to engage in publicity campaigns which at times can degenerate into factional warfare.

This AGM additionally feels that the existing system does not ensure the proper representation on the party's ruling body of the various regions of the country where the party is organised.

Accordingly, this AGM proposes that henceforth the number of officers elected to the party's governing body by the whole national membership be reduced from 20 to 6. It proposes that these 6 officers shall consist of the party Chairman and Deputy Chairman, elected as such, and 4 other officers, and that this body shall be known as the 'National Executive'. It proposes that members of the National Executive shall require to seek re-election every 3 years and that such members must have served a minimum of 5 years' full membership of the party as well as being, at the time of their standing for election, elected office holders in the party. It proposes that this National Executive shall *ipso facto* become part of the Directorate and that the remaining complement of the Directorate shall be made up as follows:—

- (a) A further number of officers up to a limit of 12 who shall be appointed by the National Executive with a view to their serving the Directorate in a specialist capacity.
- (b) One representative from each region in the United Kingdom where there are at least 3 registered branches and where there is a properly constituted and functioning regional council. This representative shall be either the Regional Organiser or Regional Agent, as determined by the vote of the regional council concerned.

It is proposed that the National Executive stand in the same relationship to the National Directorate as has previously been the case with the Executive Council, save that:—

- (a) Whereas in the past every decision by the Executive Council has had to be referred to the Directorate at its next meeting for endorsement or rejection, in the future every such decision by the National Executive need only be thus referred to the Directorate if it is requested by a member of the Directorate. In such a case the Directorate will have the power to overrule the Executive, as formerly.
- (b) Such decisions as the National Executive may be empowered to make on behalf of the Directorate will not include:—
 - i. Amendments to the party's Statement of Policy.
 - ii. Amendments to the Branch Constitution, YNF Constitution or any other constitution governing a special section of the party.
 - iii. Yearly merit awards to members.
 - iv. Resolutions to the party's Annual General Meeting.
 - v. Party policy towards other organisations, including working alliances, proscriptions, etc.
 - vi. The setting up or disbanding of internal structures within the party.
 - vii. The altering of members' subscription rates.

Decisions in the above-named fields may only be made by the whole Directorate at a properly convened Directorate meeting. Directorate meetings must be convened at two-monthly intervals as a minimum.

In view of the many and detailed amendments that would be required to be made to the Constitution to give effect to this resolution if it is carried, it is proposed that in such an event the Directorate be empowered, in order to save time at this meeting, to draw up those amendments in its own time in compliance with the general terms of the resolution.

Constitutional Resolution

Proposed by John Tyndall (National Directorate)

Seconded by Mr. Andrew Brons (National Directorate)

11. This AGM believes that the party needs a *Leader* who should be given the power to make decisions affecting the party and who can in consequence be held *responsible* and *accountable* for those decisions. Just as it believes that power without responsibility can corrupt, so it believes also that responsibility without power makes proper government or leadership impossible.

This AGM does not seek for the party a *dictator* who has total power and who may act without regard to the wishes of others in the party. Even the most powerful man in the party should be overruled if the party wishes it.

This AGM does believe, however, that whomsoever is entrusted with the highest responsibility in the party should be given powers of decision that are commensurate with that responsibility.

Accordingly, this AGM moves that the party should be governed in compliance with the changes specified in the previous resolution (Resolution 10) save that:—

- (a) In the place of the system whereby 6 members of a National Executive are elected by the whole membership of the party, only the party Chairman and Deputy Chairman should be thus elected.
- (b) Those powers given to the National Executive in Resolution 10 should be given to the Chairman of the party.

Constitutional Resolution

Proposed by Mr. D. Bruce (Enfield)

Seconded by Mr. L. Bearsford-Walker (Plymouth)

AT THE National Front annual conference in October, two resolutions were placed on the agenda which incorporated radical changes in the method of party leadership. The first resolution, Resolution 10, was defeated, and as a result of this defeat the other Resolution, No. 11, was withdrawn from debate at the conference, although the Proposer and Seconder were permitted to state their cases for the resolution. In this interview John Tyndall, who proposed Resolution 10, gives his view of the changes involved in the two resolutions.

Spearhead: Mr. Tyndall, in view of the defeat of Resolution 10 at the conference and the probable defeat of Resolution 11 had it been debated, do you feel now that the issue of the system of party leadership is closed?

Tyndall: On the contrary, it is far from closed. It has to be borne in mind that our 1979 conference took place in an atmosphere of very recent internal divisions in the party, which have not yet entirely subsided. In such an atmosphere an objective and considered examination of resolutions of this kind is not possible, as people tend to read into them ulterior motives connected with the furtherance of factions in the party. There is also the fact that the resolutions were of a complexity which did not give the delegates sufficient time to think about them before voting. This, if you like, was an error on the part of those of us associated with them. I think that with time for these resolutions to be properly considered they will be seen in a very different light.

In the speeches against Resolution 10 there were some gross and absurd misrepresentations of the nature and intent of the resolution, which I could easily have answered. However, as I had said my piece already as proposer, I did not think it right that I should be given the special privilege of a second speech on the resolution and so I let these misrepresentations go.

At the 1975 party conference there was a resolution advocating that the Chairman of the party should be elected by a ballot of the whole membership rather than solely by the Directorate, as had been the case for the previous four years. That resolution was defeated. The very next year, however, the resolution was proposed again and passed. The 1975 conference took place in a rather similar atmosphere to this year's conference and the resolutions were not examined with complete objectivity. In 1976 this atmosphere had cleared and the reaction of the delegates was entirely different. For that reason I believe that our members will come to see in time that a change in our leadership system is badly needed. Those of us who seek that change will simply have to be patient in the meantime. Next year we will again introduce proposals for change which

will be similar, if not absolutely identical, to those proposed this year.

Spearhead: What in your opinion is wrong with the present system?

Tyndall: The present system, in asking the whole national membership to elect the whole Directorate, results in a very long list of candidates of whom the average member knows a tiny proportion. Voting is therefore very largely guesswork — or else members only use a small proportion of the votes available to them, in which case they are effectively disenfranchised. Our proposal that the number of places on the Directorate filled by the votes of the whole membership be reduced from 20 to 6 would greatly reduce this tendency. A small number of candidates commend themselves to the nationwide party membership by their works. Beyond this number, candidates have to bring themselves to the members' attention by special publicity devices, which do not necessarily bestow on those candidates any merit or qualification but simply indicate their willingness to engage in self-advertisement and the fact that they have the resources thus to engage.

The alternative method of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman only being elected by the whole membership, as proposed in Resolution 11, would greatly reduce the abuses of the old system in the same way.

While members do not know, on average, enough about candidates nationwide to be able to give an informed vote for 20 of them, most members do know something about the merits of those in their own areas. Hence our proposal to incorporate regional representation. It has often been a criticism of the old system — and I believe a justified one — that many regions do not get a voice and a vote on the Directorate. Our scheme would give the regions this right, and additionally it would again allow to people the facility to make their choice between candidates whom they know.

Finally, I think that the present system creates a ridiculous imbalance between the powers of the chief officer of the party (at the moment myself) and his responsibilities. The chief officer, the Chairman, is generally held responsible for the decisions made at the top of the party and blamed when, as a result of those decisions, things go wrong. Yet in fact those decisions are made, not by him personally, but by a committee of 20. He is just 1 vote among 20 — except when there is an equality of votes, in which case he has a second casting vote. In a body of 20 that does not occur very often, so effectively the head of the party has no more power to make decisions than, say, a 19-year-old youngster just elected to the Directorate.

Spearhead: In answer to your point about candidates to the Directorate using publicity devices to bring themselves to the members' attention, it could be said that in the past Spearhead has been a party to this process, advertising certain candidates in Directorate

elections.

Tyndall: You are quite right! And this just underlines the unsuitability of the old system. On occasions in the past candidates have put themselves up for election whom we have known to be seeking places on the Directorate for factional purposes and who conducted their own publicity campaigns. In that situation we have felt compelled reluctantly to publicise the credentials of alternative candidates whom we knew would be more loyal Directorate members. This was done last year without my knowledge and consent, and had I known about it in advance I would have stopped it. However, when it was done in previous years it was fully with my knowledge and approval, and so I do not attempt to deny that I have been a party to such advertising campaigns. I simply deplore the existence of a bad system which made this necessary. With a better system it would not be necessary.

Spearhead: Concerning this last point of yours about the powers of the party's chief officer, what is your alternative — some sort of dictatorial system?

Tyndall: That is quite ridiculous. If Resolutions 10 and 11 are carefully examined, there is a built-in safeguard in both of them against dictatorial abuse of the Chairman's powers. In Resolution 10, where a considerable number of decisions would be made by a National Executive of 6 persons, the Chairman could be outvoted by a 4-2 or 5-1 majority. This would give him by no means dictatorial powers, although it would give him more powers than under the present system; according to the latter, he may be overruled by a vote of 11-9 — in other words by 55 per-cent of the Directorate, whereas in a body of 6 it would require a two-thirds majority to overrule him. That strikes me as coming somewhat nearer to a fair and sensible balance between powers and responsibilities; the Chairman does have, in effect, some greater power than the other members of that committee, as he ought to have, but he does not have total power.

Then in both resolutions, 10 and 11, the Directorate could overrule the Executive or the Chairman, as the case may be. On that Directorate there would be probably at least 15 regional representatives. Under the terms of Resolution 11 these would be able to outvote the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and the Chairman's appointees — even in the unlikely event of all the latter voting with the Chairman. Under the terms of Resolution 10 those appointed members of the Directorate would be appointed not by the Chairman himself but by a majority of the Executive. There just is no way that the Chairman could contrive to have the Directorate comprised so that it would never overrule him.

Spearhead: It could be said in answer to that that if the Chairman appointed all his favourites, or yes-men, onto the Directorate to the limit of 12 in number, it would

require not very many regional representatives to vote with him to ensure that he got his way. The appointment of favourites was mentioned as a danger at the conference.

Tyndall: Listen, the head of the party would under either resolution require to seek re-election every 3 years. If he has failed the party, the members can sling him out. If he wants the party not to fail but to do well, as presumably he does, he will appoint the best people to fill the positions on the Directorate created for specialists, since only the best people will assist him to govern the party to the maximum effectiveness. If he just appoints people on the basis of their agreement with him and their preparedness always to vote with him, he will get second best — indeed probably third best. That would mean the party being run badly and this fact registering with the members when they come to vote again for or against the Chairman after 3 years. No Chairman who is not a complete bloody idiot would run the party that way.

You know, where it comes to the matter of dissent from the Chairman's view I think it's very important to distinguish between dissent purely on the merits of a particular issue under debate and dissent as a weapon in a factional war. I have been on the Directorate long enough to be able easily and instantly to distinguish between the two. If I had power of appointment, I would certainly want colleagues who would have minds of their own on the various issues that we debate, for that is the only way to bring all talents and good ideas to bear on the running of the party, but I would not want colleagues who wanted to join the Directorate in order to disrupt and divide it. I would certainly not appoint colleagues of that type, nor would I encourage an Executive to do so. Remember that the disruptive and divisive elements that we have had on the Directorate in recent years have got there by the 'democratic' vote of the membership of the party and it has not been possible for them to be removed except by that same 'democratic' vote — and the trouble there is that the membership of the party as a whole is not always able to see who is a disruptive and divisive influence on the Directorate in the way that the party leadership can.

Spearhead: It was said at the conference that the changes involved would result in a larger Directorate than at present and that, in time as the number of regions increased, the Directorate would become larger still and thus impossibly unwieldy.

Tyndall: It is true that under the changes proposed at the conference the Directorate would become larger than now, though not enormously larger. Its probable size would be about 25 to 27 members, as opposed to 20 as at present. However, it is important that this be looked at in conjunction with the other parts of the proposals for change. Under Resolution 10 the Executive would make, and under Resolution 11 the Chairman

would make, a great many decisions normally made by the Directorate after debate by the Directorate. Now when these decisions are made by the Executive at present they must be formally presented to the Directorate at its next meeting, all of which takes a great deal of time while the decisions are explained and voted upon. Almost invariably they are upheld by the Directorate so that all that time is not really necessary; it is only necessary on the much rarer occasions when the Directorate does not endorse such decisions but overrules them. Under the new procedures that have been proposed these decisions would only come up for ratification by the Directorate if members of the Directorate disapproved them and requested that they be placed on the Directorate agenda. In this way an enormous amount of Directorate discussion time would be saved with the elimination of the sort of nit-picking business that clogs up the Directorate agenda at present. Thus despite a moderate increase in the size of the Directorate it would be much easier than at present to get through Directorate meetings.

Spearhead: What about the claim that the granting of greater decision-making powers to a 6-member Executive would make the leadership of the party elitist, exclusive and therefore less democratic?

Tyndall: If it were to do, I think that many members would not regard this necessarily as a bad thing. I think that most members of our party regard as the first priority that the party should be run efficiently and capably, so that it may prosper and grow, and they think that quality in the leadership is more important in this regard than quantity.

However, I do not accept that these changes would result in the leadership being either exclusive or less democratic. Remember that the larger Directorate can always overrule the smaller Executive (or, as in Resolution 11, the Chairman) if it sees necessary. The object is to save it being bogged down in much of the minutiae of day-to-day decision-making as it is now and to speed up that decision-making so as to make for greater efficiency. In the matter of certain very fundamental decisions, it should be noted that part of our proposals require that the full Directorate makes them. There just is no way that either the Chairman or the Executive could make decisions that are contrary to the will of the Directorate.

As for exclusiveness, these changes would reduce it rather than increase it. Every part of the country would have a representative who could speak for it and inform the Directorate of its views and its problems, whereas now I think that the Directorate operates too much in isolation from our various regions.

Spearhead: It was said at one point in the conference that the use of the word 'Leader' as applied to the chief officer of the party had dangerous connotations and that we ought to avoid it. What do you think?

Tyndall: I have never heard such nonsense in the 12 conferences I have attended. Mr. Callaghan is referred to as the Leader of the Labour Party, Mrs. Thatcher as the Leader of the Conservative Party and even Mr. Steel as the Leader of the Liberal Party. It seems quite fantastic that we should be frightened of the term that these parties employ and indeed that the chief officer of our party should have less effective decision-making powers than those of the other parties, whom we despise for their liberalism and devaluation of the concept of leadership.

Spearhead: Possibly that confusion that existed in the minds of conference delegates due to the complexity of these resolutions was compounded by the fact that there were two of them and not one. Would it not be better to have had one resolution for change and, if so, which of the two would you have preferred?

Tyndall: Possibly you are right and it would have been better to have had only one resolution. Of the two I must confess that Resolution 11, which gives the specified powers to the Chairman of the party personally, seems to me the most realistic proposal in terms of the Chairman's responsibilities. Ideally the head of the party should have the power to make decisions and then in the fullness of time be called to account if things go wrong. That strikes me as the most practical way to run our party as well as being the way that is most consistent with our overall political outlook and ideology. I think that there should be a check and balance against the possibility of some gross abuse of the Chairman's powers inside the periods between his having to seek re-election, and I think that the proposals contained in Resolution 11 provide that.

On the other hand I drew up and proposed Resolution 10, which postulated a 6-member Executive, before others came forward with Resolution 11. I did so because I sought some sort of compromise between the powers that would be conferred upon the Chairman of the party by Resolution 11 and the absurdity of the system that we have today. Shall we say that, while I think that Resolution 11 is the more practical, I would be satisfied with the adoption of a system broadly corresponding to Resolution 10.

I think that at the next conference we who seek change in the system should attempt to combine our ideas into one single resolution and I propose to open up discussions with my colleagues on how this may be done, then, when we have thrashed out a formula, to ensure that it is presented to our members in time for them to thoroughly examine it, discuss it and understand it.

Spearhead: Finally, Mr. Tyndall, what have you to say to those who maintain that the present system we have in the party is all right and doesn't need changing?

Tyndall: No words that I can summon up

can answer that question as well as the evidence of the recent confusion and division in the party — those things provide the monument to the old system.

There may of course be those who say that we should not blame the system but should blame the individual, i.e. me. But how can you blame the individual leader if you do not acknowledge the concept of his leadership and if you do not give him the power to lead? Such people cannot have it both ways. They must either give to the individual leader the power to lead, and then blame him when there is division and confusion, or they must believe in the concept of leadership by virtue of a good system — in which case the present system must be judged by the recent state of the party.

I believe that our party, though recently sick, can rapidly be restored to health. I know what measures need to be taken to achieve this restoration to health. But I cannot take them under existing circumstances because I do not have the power. That is the position that our members need to ponder on over the next few months.

Footnote: Spearhead would welcome comments from readers who are members of the National Front on the matters discussed in this interview.

OUR MOVEMENT LIVES TO FIGHT AGAIN!

Contd. from page 9

ness, we offer strength. In the place of surrender, we offer fight. In the place of internationalism, we offer the nation. That's the message that we must carry forth from this meeting today — and we must carry it forth like a crusading army dedicated to victory, however hard the struggle, however long the road.

We can do this. We can come back and march on to greater heights than ever before — if we remain a united movement. It's my resolution and my vow that we will remain a united movement — and that in the years ahead through the chaos and the gloom of this country, through the ruins of a once great land, people will hear the marching steps and the drumbeat of rebirth. People will hear our columns and people will hear our message — and a voice thundering across the ages from the graves of our ancestors, from the graves of those who were the pioneers of empire, will command the British People: "Now is the hour of decision! Now is the hour of destiny! Now is the moment to act! Dare all! Stake all! Join this march! And through the National Front shall Britannia rise again!"

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RACISM: HERESY OR INSTINCT

Contd. from page 5

of the same species display marked hostility to each other as a general rule, and that this kind of hostility is quite different from the fear and avoidance syndrome between predators and prey of different species. Since members of the same species do not usually feed on each other, the hostility must have its basis in something else. The determining factor seems to be the mutual fertility of varieties as opposed to species. When such an instinct persists, it must have evolved to meet some need.

The late Sir Arthur Keith, a world-renowned anthropologist, argued after a lifetime of study that this inter-varietal hostility exists in order to maintain the biological integrity of the sub-groups and to promote their mutual competition upon which, he believed, all further upward evolution depends. The promulgation of such views was bitterly attacked by the liberal establishment in his field and, despite a long record of honour and accomplishment, he suddenly became something of a non-person.

The very word "miscegenation" is now looked upon as unfit for polite society. But the evidence from other species (dogs and horses, for example) strongly indicates that indiscriminate cross-breeding brings about the loss of the special and valuable characteristics of the separate breeds and the general reversion to a more primitive and undifferentiated type.

Thus the instinct to defend "us" (our people, our breed) against the genetic intrusion of the "other" is not simply ignorance or wrong-headedness. For many, perhaps most, people, this "prejudice" may never achieve the level of a wholly-conscious and rational position; but this in no way invalidates its meaningfulness as a profound instinct.

The argument may be offered that, if this instinct is so powerful and so basic, there is nothing to fear. All but a very few will obey it. Unfortunately, this is not so. There exists an even more powerful instinct, the primary instinct of all living creatures upon which — as should be obvious — the very existence of Life itself depends. This is the instinct to procreate. It takes precedence even over the instinct for personal survival. This can be seen in any species from bird to human (when the instincts have not become diseased) in the manner in which parents will

NATIONAL FRONT NEWS

Editor: Martin Webster

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sacrifice their lives when necessary to preserve their young.

Sexual desire is the bait to implement the otherwise rather strange process of copulation which fulfills the demands of the procreative drive. And the sheer intensity of sexual desire can overrule the instinct to preserve genetic integrity. In this respect the female is perhaps more vulnerable than the male, since the male can, theoretically at least, father a virtually unlimited number of offspring whereas the female is very much more limited. She must therefore, even more than the male, tend to seek a virile partner and, in this respect, racial lines may more easily be crossed when propinquity and opportunity exist and social taboos and inhibitions have weakened.

UNIQUE FACTOR

There is a unique factor in operation here as regards Whites. The white nations have generally been the affluent nations. They have led in the "advances" of medical science. But the social results of medical advances in the last two centuries have been the cause of a genetic disaster for Whites. They have made possible the survival of untold millions of the genetically impaired who would have been eliminated in a state of nature, and have thus allowed the dispersal of their deleterious genes throughout the common gene pool. Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this is to be found in the appalling fact that 12% — one in eight — American children, as a result of physical or mental handicaps, now require some special facilities in order to go through the public education system.

But simple observation of the growing

prevalence of genetic handicaps and malfunctions should really keep us constantly aware of the dreadful fate of a breed which, so far from culling out its botched, seeks ever more diligently for means to preserve them in accordance with its religious and social ideas. We have already reached a point where relatively few of us are without a quota of lethal, or at least debilitating, genes as a poisonous gift to pass on to our children.

I myself have travelled and lived for lengthy periods of time on four continents and do not hesitate to admit that I find women of all races desirable. It is the incredible power of this sexual and procreative instinct (Shakespeare's "great prince") which conflicts so vigorously with the counter-instinct to preserve the genetic type (which latter instinct in its extreme form constitutes the *attrait* of incest). Knowing this of myself, I can hardly justify moral indignation at a woman of my own race who, obeying the primary drive, is attracted to a healthy male of some other race which has not been so genetically endangered by affluence, medicine, and "humanism". But I can deplore the choice she is faced with.

It comes down to this: the civilised and refined may shudder at the kind of peasant-village mentality which says, "Here comes a stranger. Throw a brick at him." But perhaps refined human beings, like refined sugar, are not necessarily the healthiest of products. Perhaps the peasant is, after all, only obeying a very deep and necessary instinct. Racial superiority in a general and non-specific sense may be a myth, but perhaps it is a necessary myth in the service of the higher cause of the ascension of Life from the amoeba to man — and beyond.

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Letters

SIR: Martin Webster's recent article seems to have caused more misconceptions than the Silicon Chip. C. Robinson has only partly understood what Mr. Webster was saying about the "middle class". It is a fact, sadly, that the National Front is founded on the dispossessed working class. The middle classes are far too smug and comfortable to care about other sections of society, and self interest has always been the driving force for this class. Philosophical ideals are no doubt very fine attributes, but experience has shown that people who have wallowed for decades in comfortable conditions are not receptive of such ideas, and can think only in terms of perpetuating their easy way of life.

Mr. Webster is right beyond dispute in saying that only near national collapse will bring support from such people.

Mr. Robinson drew the wrong conclusion in supposing that Mr. Webster was advocating socialist rather than right wing policies. National Front is not socialist only, or right-wing, whatever that means, but is Racial-Nationalist. Of course, we do need support from all the British people, as Mr. Robinson says, but the fact is that we haven't got that support yet. At present, our only hope for national survival rests with the dispossessed workers who form the bulk and backbone of NF support. It is a disgrace that these people alone should have to carry this enormous burden, but, stout fellows as they are, they will carry it until such time as the crunch comes, and all our people have the force to join the struggle for national and racial survival.

A. J. DIXON
Weymouth, Dorset

SIR: In reference to James Crossbow's article 'The So-Called Energy Crisis', surely the author is adopting the arguments of the profit-seeking multi-nationals when he claims nuclear power is one hundred per cent safe. I am not, by saying this, supporting the red anti-nuclear lobby, but I do believe it necessary to keep an open mind on questions regarding the safe production of nuclear materials.

The argument used by Mr. Crossbow rested on the assumption that, at close

quarters, a person could shield himself against the effects of plutonium radioactivity with a sheet of paper. If this is true, one is led to believe that the storing of plutonium waste in sealed containers in at least twenty feet of water is an utter waste of time and public money. Perhaps we had better store our nuclear waste in cardboard boxes, or better still, wrap it in paper!

No, sir, we had better not. Nuclear energy is a valuable thing, provided that great care is taken in the production and storage of all materials involved. I feel that we could see the negative side to nuclear energy when it lies in the hands of profit-blinded individuals.

P. LANGFORD
London N.19

SIR: While the arguments in favour of British withdrawal from the United Nations Organisation are certainly convincing there is one major advantage to be gained from our continued membership.

According to Article 27 of the United Nations Charter, on all but procedural matters decisions of the Security Council,

the UN's executive organ, must be made by an affirmative vote of nine of the members including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. It therefore follows that a negative vote by any one of the permanent members, of which Britain is one, is sufficient to veto any non-procedural Security Council resolution.

If Britain remained a member of the United Nations after the election of a Nationalist government all major business of the Council, including any attempt to impose sanctions on Britain, could effectively be brought to a standstill.

PAUL CHYNOWETH
Manchester 16

SIR: I wonder if you watched 'Kitty - A Return to Auschwitz' on ITV recently. This was a documentary about a Jewish woman who revisited the camp and reminisced on her imprisonment as a 17 year-old. She claimed she "saw" people entering gas chambers at one end and "coming out as ashes at the other". Do you believe that? I don't.

B. PRITCHARD
Hereford, Worcs.

LETTER OF THE MONTH

Spearhead publishes the best letter to the press on National Front policy every month. Send your cutting to us not later than the 15th of the previous month. You could win a £1 Nationalist Books voucher. This month's winner (below) was published in the *Gateshead Post*

SIR — In his letter (Gateshead Post May 24), John Russell would have us all forfeit our commonsense and judgment by asking us to believe in the old fossil which claims the National Front is a 'Nazi' organisation.

It is thankful for us to note that most sensible people these days are no longer being 'taken in' by this kind of juvenile propaganda from the extreme left.

It would perhaps have been more honest for Mr Russell to have informed his readers about his own political viewpoint. Are we to understand, for example, that because Mr Russell is a Communist — that this point has no connection or relation to his views on the National Front? I very much hope not, for that would be stretching things bit much.

Leaving Mr Russell's pathetic letter aside for a moment, it is interesting to see that one finds the same kind of 'theme' throughout the majority of letters from the silly, anti-National Front brigade in general. Over the past six to eight weeks now — many extreme, left wing idiots in the Socialist (Workers —?) Party, (along with the equally silly robots of the anti-(sic)-Nazi

League) have been active in the 'Post's' correspondence columns, pushing forward the same dull issues.

It may well be helpful here to remind the ANAL — SWP partnership that that particular baby, i.e. 'Nazi-ism' was destroyed over 30 years ago. But they seem to have a morbid fascination and unexplained feverish fetish for things 'Nazi' in the Socialist (Workers —?) Party, and indeed, this is even better seen by the crazy goings on of the (anti?) Nazi League itself.

According to the 'left wing', then: The national Front is Nazi; the Conservative Party is Nazi; a few 'misguided' Liberals are Nazi (those Liberals, that is, who have committed the unpardonable 'sin' of expressing a viewpoint of rightist nature, whether political or economic), and, God help us, even poor old Reg Prentice is now found to be suffering from similar trouble.

In fact, I now see that (shock, horror, gasp) the mindbenders of the Anti-Nazi League have found 'proof' the British Atomic Energy Commission is 'Nazi' — what next?

Is the National Trust Nazi? Is the Inland Revenue Nazi? Could it be that even our present system of government is Nazi? Instead of 'Reds under the beds' is it now 'Facists in the frige, fireplace or furniture'? The mind boggles.

The above brings us to an

interesting question: What, in fact, are the requirements needed for people, by the Anti-Nazi League, for them to be branded 'Nazi' or 'Facist'?

Well, we all know the lies spread about the NF, but what about the greater, general public? It seems that if you are against immigration (and the multi-racial society); if you want a 'real' peace in Northern Ireland; if you think that Trade Unions should be more Democratic; if you feel that Capital Punishment should be made law again; if you stand against the Common Market — and want Britain out; if you stand for a strong, armed defence for your country of the highest quality; if you take a strong attitude against drugs, dirt and pornography; if you stand for more and 'real' freedom in Education; if you are against the break up of Britain into fragments — and last of all, (although there are lots more issues), if you stand for the real freedom of the individual — against that of Marxist dictatorship and Communist takeover, then I am sorry, because if you believe in only half of the above points (never mind all of them), you can take it for granted that you're a NAZI. Who says so? Why, the Anti-Nazi League of course.

FREDERICK H. PETERSON
'Eclipse'
Sunderland Road Villas
Felling

WHY I AM A NATIONALIST

Contd. from page 4

International Finance, Britain is dying. If Britain is to live, she must change direction. The only alternative to economic internationalism is economic nationalism.

I do not claim to be an adherent of a total and all-embracing philosophy in the way that Marxists claim to have a philosophy which, by scientific application, can provide all the answers to every personal, individual, local, national and international problem. I do not have a religious faith.

A BRITISH RULING ELITE

I believe that individual human beings, and groups of human beings, desire a sense of fulfilment and a sense of purpose (the one may be the same as the other). They may not, all of them, know that this is what they desire — but when this desire, appreciated or unappreciated, is not being realised, then the individual or the group becomes unhappy, neurotic and self-destructive.

I believe that in the same way that an individual can sense being unfulfilled and purposeless, so too a nation of people can have this feeling. As not all members of any given nation — even where populated by an ethnically homogeneous population group — are of equal intelligence and capacity, it is natural, inevitable and essential that a strong and visionary leadership will be required so that the whole community can be given the sense of direction that is a part of the sense of fulfilment.

I do not believe that "the People" can lead themselves. States that proclaim that such is the case in their realm are simply engaging in a propaganda charade whereby their masses are kept (for the time being) in a state of docility as they labour under the delusion that they control their own lives. Whether a state is "social democratic", a "people's democracy", a "dictatorship" or a "dictatorship of the proletariat", the facts of life are that a power elite takes the decisions and has the power and the rest of society (more or less) complies with its will. This is the situation in Britain, and it is only mitigated for the majority by the way in which they are kept ignorant or distracted from the realities of the situation by the mass media, reinforced by the natural inclination of so many people to avoid the trouble and responsibility that comes from awareness.

This is not to say that I believe in a dictatorship or a self-perpetuating oligarchy. I do not. What I believe is that as society must and can only be run by an elite, it is necessary to ensure that the elite that runs Britain is a *British* elite whose total loyalty is to Britain and the British people and who have gained and who hold their power on the basis of merit. I believe that the protection of the rights of individuals lies in an independent Judiciary and the Laws of

England rather than in "democratic institutions" which, as often as not, are a tyrannical burden on individuals and society at large.

How a Nationalist-minded, competent and honest elite is to be selected/elected/evolved is something that I have not settled in my mind. What I am certain of is that the leadership of the British people must be born of the British people. At present the power elite that runs Britain is cosmopolitan in outlook and, in a large number of cases, cosmopolitan in antecedent. Consequently its loyalty is not to Britain; consequently and increasingly it is taking decisions that are not merely not in the interests of Britain and her people, but manifestly **contrary** to our interests. Treason has become rationalised and sanctified in the liberal-democratic neo-Marxist-Monopolist ideology of the growing World Cosmopolis.

CAPITALIST-MARXIST SYNTHESIS

The forces of cosmopolitan internationalism — International Monopoly Capitalism, and its bastard child, International Communism — are the principal power forces at large in the world today. So far as the "Free West" is concerned, the politicians who we elect are either powerless or are willing agents of the Internationalist powers. Labour, Conservative and Liberal party politicians are obliged by the grip of patronage exerted by the financial Establishment and by the bully-boy career-killing power of the mass media to do what they are told, regardless of the treasonable consequences of their action.

The forces of Internationalism are quite open about their desire to build a World Government. This will be based on the monopoly control by the power elite over the whole world's means of credit-creation and of production and distribution. International Communist or International Capitalist . . . the name doesn't matter, it's the ultimate effect that counts and the ultimate effect of either system will be the same. Both systems are merely different roads to the same ultimate destination. The massive investment by the super Monopoly Capitalists into China in recent years is the best and latest demonstration of how, amongst the top power-mongers, 'Communism' and 'Capitalism' can be synthesised and integrated. It is upon this synthesis that the architects of World Government are building their Messianic dreams.

Those who hold power must always fear discontent and revolt. Those who rule a nation must provide against civil war. Those who seek to rule the World Cosmopolis (the "World Community" is the latest Establishment cant phrase for this) must likewise provide against revolt. What can be the only basis of revolt against an Internationalist order? Quite obviously, expressions of Nationalism. What is the main base of nationhood? Race — an ethnically homo-

geneous population group . . . a community of people who share the same genetic pool, the same language, the same history, the same cultural heritage, the same laws, the same poetry . . . people who know that they belong to one another and who know that they belong to something special, separate and unique.

PLURALISE-AND-RULE

Consequently, the notion of race and all that it implies is as much anathema to the Internationalists as are nations and the nation-state concept. The forces of Internationalism have worked with increasing effect from the Second World War to undermine in people's minds the value of independent nations, and have worked with increasing effect to undermine and demote the legal, cultural and above all the financial structures which give effect to nationhood and national sovereignty.

But they know that as long as communities of people who are ethnically homogeneous exist and think of themselves as nations — regardless of their contemporary geographical, political or legal circumstances — then they exist as nations. The history of the Jews, the most cosmopolitan and international — and, superficially, internationalist — of people, yet also the most nationalist and 'racialist' of people, proves this.

Thus it is that the propaganda agencies of the Internationalist Establishment, the Press and TV media, the educational system and a veritable legion of sponsored pressure groups and sponsoring 'charitable foundations' and 'educational trusts' devote such massive effort to attacking the concept of race, to attacking "racialism", to promoting multi-racialism and "human equality" theories, and to promoting in once secure mono-racial communities divisive "pluralism".

To be concluded in the next issue.

SPEARHEAD FUND

Money over and above normal income from sales is needed to build up SPEARHEAD. Your help would be greatly appreciated. Please make out your postal orders or cheques to Spearhead, and send them to: Spearhead, P.O. Box 105, London E.C.2.

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Unity affirmed at Gt. Yarmouth A.G.M.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC atmosphere of comradeship and a desire to cement party unity again characterised the National Front Annual General Meeting at the Wellington Pier Pavilion, Great Yarmouth last month. Despite hard-headed debate over constitutional resolutions in which strong differences of opinion were expressed, all delegates' contribution to the debate was conducted in a spirit of reconstruction and a genuine desire to determine the best way of running the party's affairs following recent internal divisions. The dissident faction was clearly routed by the mass of loyal members making their will felt.

That the party was able to hold the AGM at Great Yarmouth was itself a triumph. The contract to hire the Wellington Pier Pavilion entered into with the Conservative-controlled Great Yarmouth Council last year was broken by a Labour party faction immediately following the May 1979 Council elections. The Council was sued in the High Court, and Judge Tasker-Watkins, VC, granted the NF a court order compelling the Council to carry out its contract. This decision was upheld unanimously by Lord Denning and two other judges in the Court of Appeal.

Threats by the extreme Left and trade unions to disrupt public transport to Yarmouth and intimidate hoteliers into refusing bookings failed to materialise. The attempt by members of NUPE to freeze out NF delegates (including elderly members) by turning off the heating in the Pavilion also failed. The source of the heating was found, the locked door forced open and the heating turned on!

The first day of the AGM on Friday, October 26th was taken up with annual reports from the heads of Directorate departments, followed by an organisational conference and debate of the first among the resolutions on the Agenda.

The majority of resolutions debated during the main conference day concerned



On the platform, left to right: Andrew Brons, Philip Gegan, John Tyndall, Kenneth McKilliam (AGM Chairman), Martin Webster and Richard Verrall

constitutional changes in the internal organisation of the party. One motion proposed a period of one year's probationary membership for new members, during which period the Directorate could terminate membership if a person's conduct warranted it. This motion was lost as it did not receive the two thirds majority necessary for constitutional changes.

A resolution in which the Directorate sought the opinion of the membership on a proposed increase in the annual subscription up to a limit of £12 per year met with the decisive view that the increase was too high.

The key debate of the day concerned proposed changes in the method of electing the National Directorate. One motion proposed by party Chairman John Tyndall advocated a six-man National Executive (including the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman) to be elected by the whole membership, the remainder of the Directorate comprising appointed Department heads and representatives elected from the Regions. Another resolution proposed the election by the whole membership of only the Chairman

and Deputy-Chairman. Support for and opposition to the first of these resolutions was about evenly matched and debated vigorously. The motion was eventually lost, and consequently the second resolution was withdrawn. John Tyndall gives his own views on the AGM debate elsewhere in this issue.

Richard Verrall's speech to the AGM concerned the recent internal divisions in the party and what lay behind them. Following that speech (which is reprinted in this issue) the membership present overwhelmingly supported a motion affirming that NF Properties Ltd. was ultimately to be controlled by the party through the Directorate's nominees, who may be changed at the discretion of the Directorate and who must carry out the instructions of the Directorate at company meetings.

Andrew Brons, newly elected Deputy-Chairman of the party, addressed the AGM on the future development of the National Front. A resolution expressing wholehearted



Delegates
listen to
the debates



Richard Verrall speaks to the meeting



John Tyndall makes his closing speech

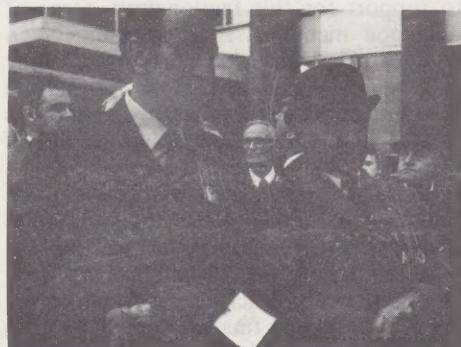
support for Martin Webster in his fight against prosecution under the Race Act was followed by Martin Webster's own speech reviewing the party's progress throughout the 1970's. He reminded the meeting that, despite disappointment with our votes in the May General Election, we had built from nothing the most successful Nationalist movement ever during that decade, capable of fighting a General Election on an unprecedented scale.

After a magnificent collection which raised over £1200, commendations to active members were read out and Gold Badges awarded for outstanding service. John Tyndall's closing speech calling for unity and a renewed commitment to the political struggle received a standing ovation. The full text is reprinted in this issue.

Conference Chairman Kenneth McKilliam makes a point. Seated, John Tyndall, Martin Webster. Standing Richard Verrall.



FOR A NEW BRITAIN



Annual N.F. Remembrance Day Parade to honour war dead

Left: Ex-servicemen form up.
Below: Approaching the Cenotaph.



Help these members

Spearhead readers will remember last month's story by West London Regional Organiser Graham John of the NF demonstration against a meeting in support of the 'Patriotic Front' terrorists held in Watford, Herts. As a result of the assault by communist "stewards" on the NF members as they left the hall, during which our activists defended themselves, Graham was recently convicted of "threatening behaviour" and fined £200 with £88 costs! *Spearhead* asks readers to help him pay this shocking fine, imposed because of a demonstration in support of White Rhodesians. Send donations, please, and we will forward. Cheques, POs made out to "Brent Branch NF" and crossed "Defence Fund".

Rotherham Organisers Michael Day and Tony Cooper are still having to pay an unjust fine of £140 imposed after they defended themselves from an attack by two members of the "Anti-Nazi League" during the General Election. Please help these members, both family men. Cheques, POs to "Rotherham Branch NF" and crossed "Defence Fund". We will forward. Thank you!

FILMS FOR SALE

Two excellent Super 8mm sound & colour films of NF marches, from beginning to end. "Anti-Muggers March" through East End in 1975 (25 minutes). Price £30. "Anti-IRA March" through London in 1974 (16 minutes). Price £20. Box 7822.

**UNITE NOW AFTER
DEFEATING SUBVERSION**
Contd. from page 10

party has also been made, and that also is something which the Directorate intends to remedy. I shall be talking more about the Excalibur Club later this afternoon.

This then has been the background to the campaign of internal disruption in the party. It soon became obvious that this campaign was to be allied to another, overt political campaign — in which substantially the same people sought to gain a much stronger foothold on the National Directorate as well, exploiting the personal ambitions of Mr. Fountaine and using him as their figurehead. Fortunately, that attempt failed.

Of course, the people concerned were perfectly entitled to seek places on the National Directorate. What they were not entitled to do was to use stolen membership lists to circulate factional leaflets to every single paid up member of the party. These lists of members were obtained by Mr. Kavanagh, on his own admission, from confidential Head Office records which are temporarily given to the Treasurer for accounts work. It is in this connection that Mr. Kavanagh is currently under suspension and facing a Disciplinary Tribunal.

RIGHTFULLY OURS

Fellow Members, I sincerely believe that we can thank our lucky stars that the membership of our party re-elected John Tyndall to the Chairmanship and elected Andrew Brons to the Deputy-Chairmanship of the National Front.

A political takeover bid has been defeated, and it now remains for us to re-assert the party's control over what rightfully belongs to the party by action in the courts. I was talking to Counsel about this last week, and he assures us that there is absolutely no question of the rightness of our position and that we will be victorious in the courts. And I can assure you that

when that happens there is going to be a wholesale clean-out of NF Properties Ltd. and the Excalibur Club.

One further thing remains for us to do — and that is to cement party unity again. We must all of us close ranks and start the business of rebuilding again. I can tell you that elements of this faction have still not given up. I shall be prosecuting at a Disciplinary Tribunal at which Malcolm Smith, our former Treasurer, is accused of inciting members not to collect membership subscriptions and to get rid of the elected leadership of the party by "starving Excalibur House of finance." Other elements in the faction have boasted that this is the way they are now thinking after the failure of their takeover bid.

In the face of this sort of subversion unity is vital. There are still legal battles to be fought, there are still disciplinary cases to be heard. It is essential that all members understand what has been happening, and give their whole-hearted support to the National Directorate in any action which it has to take to put an end finally to treason in the party. A few people have been misled into support for this factionalism, some of them good members. If they genuinely do not wish to harm the party, then they should disassociate themselves from those still intent on subversion. If they cannot do that, then I say they had better get out of the party.

You have elected a National Directorate to take decisions and to have the ultimate authority in the party. The aim of the faction, to remove finance and business from the authority of politicians, has been the aim of the international financier down the ages and is the reason why in our national life bankers rule instead of governments. If our party is to survive and withstand subversion, that Directorate must have the ultimate authority over all bodies and organisations set up to serve the party. If we do not have that, then we could lose everything we have built. This is a time when all loyal members must support the Directorate leadership, and I urge them to do it from this day forward and unite once again.

Martin Webster convicted for truths about race

The pitiful battered face on our front cover is that of 92 year old grandmother Mrs. Mary Donohue of Rusholme, Manchester. She was attacked and battered in her own home by a thug who robbed her of all the cash she had — £4!

The Manchester *Evening News* which first reported this case described Granny Donohue's attacker as: "... a half-caste with tight curly black hair ..." in the bottom paragraph of its 12 paragraph report.

On 30th October Martin Webster, Editor of *National Front News*, was convicted on two counts of publishing material "likely to incite racial hatred" by publishing in issues 13 and 14 of the paper numerous cases of criminal violence by Blacks and Asians against White people similar to the Donohue case.

The Crown prosecutor formally conceded at the outset of the trial: "Everything published by Mr. Webster as fact is true." That admission was acknowledged by Mr. Justice Figgis in his Summing Up. But under the new version of the Race Relations Act, truth is irrelevant.

The prosecution produced no evidence to show that what Mr. Webster had written had actually incited any racial hatred, nor was any evidence produced to show that he had intended to incite racial hatred. Any such elements were held to be as "irrelevant" to a Guilty verdict as the truth of what he had written. The only thing that counted was what the Jury thought was "likely".

After the Judge's politically biased tirade against Mr. Webster the Jury were left in no doubt as to the verdict the Judge required, and they obliged him.

Mr. Webster was given a six-month suspended jail sentence and fined, with costs, a total of £650.00.

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